1:Gabb N-5 (1873-1874) 1876
SA19 Talamanca SA19

front end, from two to even four feet long, is made of the same wood as the bow. For fish this is sharpened to a point and is barbed on one, two, or even three edges, or is made round. For quadrupeds, the wood is shorter, not barbed, and is tipped with a lance-like head made by laboriously grinding down an old knife blade to the requisite form. For small birds, the head ends in a broad round button, flat on the face. The Tiribis use also a little arrow, ending in a slightly open bunch of small reeds. These are for killing a fish, common in the Tilorio, never more than five or six inches long, and which rests attached to rocks by a sucking surface. The fish is so small that several points are necessary to the arrow, so that if one does not strike another may. No poison is used on the arrows, and, in fact the people seem to know of none. In their quarrels, a stick is used over six feet long, nearly an inch thick and about two inches wide, and made of the same wood as the bows, arrows, and planting-sticks. It is very heavy and is grasped by the fingers and thumbs of both hands in such a manner that they are guarded from a blow. They guard and strike an "over-blow" always holding by both hands. They are going out of use now that the people have discovered the easier, but more dangerous process of litigation. Cracked heads and broken arms give way to damages. For killing small birds the blow-gun is used. This is a tube seven or eight feet long, made by punching and burning the pith out from the heart of a palm trunk, nearly two inches thick. They are made very straight and true inside, and are provided with a double sight on top, made of two glass beads placed half an inch apart: when finished they are covered with some resin or a species of pitch to keep them from cracking or warping. The missiles are clay balls. These, previously prepared are carried in a little net, with them there are two bone implements. One, simply a straight heavy piece of bone used to drive a ball out of the tube by its weight, in case of sticking. The other is similar in appearance, but the end is worked into a round pit with sharp edges, for trimming the balls to the proper size and shape. During the war between the Bri-bris and Tiribis, at the beginning of this century, the principal arm used was an iron-headed lance fastened to a shaft barely four feet long. For defense, round shields were carried on the arm, made of the thickest part of the hide of the tapir. I was fortunate enough to secure specimens of both, together with nearly all the other implements, &c., described in the present paper. They are all in the Smithsonian Museum.

All people have some kind of music which doubtless gives pleasure to them, although to our unappreciative ears it may sound rude and disagreeable. The Marimba, an African instrument, found all over semi-civilized Central America, is unknown here. I cannot understand the surprise of an eminent African traveler, who writes wonderingly of the coincidence, of finding this instrument in use in Africa and among the Indians of Central America. It was introduced with the African slaves and has been retained among their descendants and neighbors. The

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

dreaded, since the Indians say they could not withdraw the arrow without pulling out the victim's intestines on the barbs. 411

Pl. XXIV, *b*, shows an arrow resembling the preceding, except that the foreshaft is round in cross-section and is barbed only on one side. It is a form used in fishing. 227 ● 411

Pl. XXIV, *a*, is also a fish arrow, for taking small species. It has a foreshaft of cane split into four prongs, which open on contact with the water and spread out to encompass the fish. Pl. XXVIII represents a party of Bribri men in semi-costume ready to shoot fish.

Blowguns.—While not nearly so common among the Bribri as bows and arrows, blowguns are still to be seen in many houses. These weapons are made by removing the core of some pithy stalk about 6 feet long. The bore is rather large, and through it are shot clay pellets (pl. XXV, *a*) instead of darts. The outer surface of the weapon is covered with a heavy black gum, the same as that used on the arrows, but thickly applied. On all complete blowguns two shell beads are set parallel, close together, 411

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
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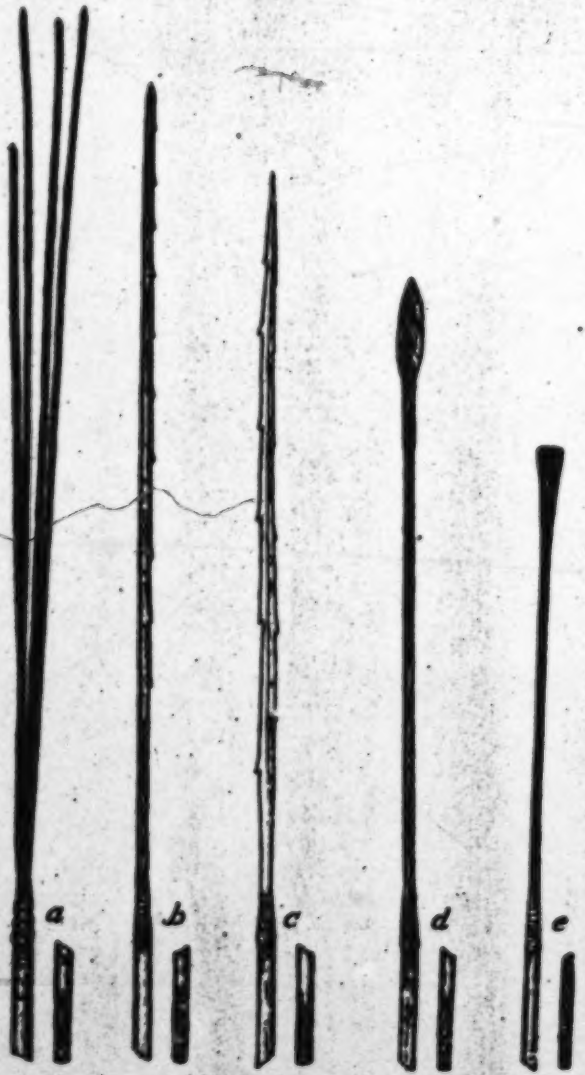

TYPES OF BRIBRI ARROWS

a, For small fish, length 6' 1"; *b*, Typical fish arrow, length 5' 7½"; *c*, War arrow, length 4' 11½"; *d*, Large game arrow with metal point, length 5' 1"; *e*, Small game arrow with blunt head, length 4' 5".

[Facing page 87]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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PL. XXVIII

BRIBRI MEN FISHING

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 95]

2:Skinner E-5 (1917) 1920
SA19 Talamanca SA19
Bribri

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PL. XXIX

FISH-WEIR ON COEN RIVER

SKINNER—BRIBRI

[facing p. 97]

262 825 fish are eaten when the Indians go to the Pacific coast for salt. A large and small clam which come from the coast are also favorite foods.

224 The *Boruca* prefer to hunt in groups of two or three and without dogs. Their favorite time for hunting is when the moon is new, and, strangely enough, on Tuesday and Thursday. Night hunting is almost never practised, as this is the time when the poisonous snakes roam, the most dreaded of which is the bushmaster (*Lachesis muta*). Traps are 223 used for birds, and are generally placed in the rice fields or in the corn fields. The traps are made by the men with cane (*Gynerium sagittatum* [Aubl.] Beauv.) and are box-shaped, but without a bottom. They are placed in the fields with food inside and sustained at one end by a small stick which is broken in two, but is balanced one end on top of the other. A string is fastened to one portion of the broken stick, and is left on the ground next to the food. The bird enters the trap, and walking, moves the string, which in turn pulls aside the piece of stick, and the box drops, imprisoning the bird. Sling shots are used by the boys to [411 177] shoot birds. The bow and arrow for hunting have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by the shot gun and rifle.

226 [824 278] **Fishing.** The *Boruca* have five ways of catching fish. One manner is with a vine (*Serjania cornigera* Turcz.). They also mash the bark of the *espavel* (*Anacardium excelsum* [Bert. & Balb.] Skeels) and sometimes the bark of the sandbox tree, *javillo* (*Hura polyandra* Baill.). This last is less effective. To fish with vines or barks, a portion of the river is hemmed in by the men who construct a wall of stone at the upper and the lower end. They then mash the material chosen and throw it in the dammed section. The fish come to the surface stupefied, and are gathered by the men. The *Boruca* prefer to fish, however, with spears. These are of two sorts: long white canes between 57 and 58 inches long with an [227] extended tip of pejibaye palm about 18 inches in length with several barbs at the end, and a shorter cane about 40 inches long, also with a pejibaye end, but without barbs and with a steel needle-like protrusion fastened to the pejibaye section. The short spear is used in the local creek for small fish, while the longer one is

224 262 this method of hunting that only cold food may be eaten before the hunt as hot food brings bad luck.

226 **Fishing.** The most common method of fishing is with the bow and barbed or straight palm-wood arrow (fig. 3, *b*)[2/3] Small fish are sometimes killed by the blow of a machete and hooks are occasionally used. Grasshoppers [825] are the favorite bait. These are caught and [227] kept in a gourd in which air holes have been [415] bored and a corncob is used as a stopper or cap until ready for use. Grasshoppers can live five days in such a container. Conical casting nets, similar to those used by the Guaymí of Panama, are also employed. On the Pacific side, amongst the Bribri, sometimes the stream is dammed and a wooden fish trap is used.

Next to the bow and arrow, however, the most popular manner of fishing is with poisons. [278] The two most frequently used are obtained [824] from a tree (*Phyllantus* sp. Pittieri) and from a vine (*Serjania* sp.).[73] The tree poison blinds and kills all fish, and is so strong that the day after a person has handled it, it is common for his face to remain swollen and to hurt. When this poison is used, the river is dammed with tree trunks downstream. Around four o'clock in the morning thirty or so men begin to [462] scrape or shred pieces of the *Phyllantus* into [857] the water. Non-pregnant women and children gather downstream to collect the fish in baskets (*bavas*). The organizer of this event receives one or two fish from each participant, the number depending on the total amount caught, and can keep all that he himself [178] catches. Today, permission has to be obtained [625] from the police agent in Talamanca and the organizer has to give him a share.

The vine colors the water green but only stuns the fish. It is used in small creeks and not large rivers. Only two men are needed to fish in this way. The vine, leaves, and stem are beaten into small pieces with a stick and then are thrown into the dammed waterway. [278] A third fish poison is sometimes prepared from [824] a tuber which resembles the *ñame*. It is called *wiwakri* in Bribri and is mashed and thrown into the water.

252 **Food Preparation.** On the whole, food is

[73] For the indigenous names *see* Plant List in Appendix.

[2/3 [see category 116 - END PLATE 2 - ANALYST.]

283 together, or makes a knot in each, throwing away the outer portion. She beats the peeled leaves with a stick and wets them thoroughly, tying all ends together. The beating and washing are repeated to remove whatever green of the outer leaf might remain, and then it is bleached in the sun. Finally, the fiber is rolled out on the knee, backwards and forwards, in two thick strands and afterwards rolled together, or it is divided into the size wanted and rolled separately.

[824] *Cabuya* (*Furcraea* sp.) is also very important. It is treated in the same manner and made into rope and thread for hammocks, especially by the Bribri men. The fiber is rolled on the [462] thigh by both sexes to make thread. The men use a *pejibaye* needle to weave it and stretch the finished product to the desired size by means of a long stick.

[824] On both sides of the range, *peine del mico* [482] (*Apeiba tibourbou* Aubl.) is fashioned into rope and bands to carry packs. There are two ways of preparing this. The best method is rather drawn out because the fiber must come from the inside and not from the outer bark which breaks easily. This requires removing the outer portion as the bark is taken from the tree. The inside is held under water with stones for 15 days. The interior part of this separates and a gluelike sap exudes leaving a white fiber. The second method does not call for removing the outer bark first. The process in the water is the same but the fiber is stained dark by the gluey sap, sand from the river, and the outer bark.

[824] *Algodoncillo* (*Pavonia dasypetala*) yields a fiber for making rope and tumplines. The outer bark is removed as a glove from the stem of the bush and the inner portion is used.

[824] *Guarumo* (*Cecropia* sp.) is used in Tala- [227] manca to make conical fishing nets which [171] closely resemble those of the northern Guaymí [482] in Panama. On the Pacific slope, carrying nets are made from it.

[824] A fiber for rope is taken from the *burillo* or *burio* (*Heliocarpus excelsior*) on both sides of the range. It is stripped from the tree and passed back and forth over cuts made in a hard wood tree until the outer bark is removed. The Cabécar men and women make such rope.

[824] The bark of *majagua* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus* L.

283 824 sp.) is used on the Pacific slope for tumplines and rope.

287 [462] [824] **Bark Cloth.** Men generally make bark cloth as it requires considerable strength. There are three kinds of *mastate* or bark cloth made in Talamanca and two on the Pacific side. Red *mastate* (*Brosimum costaricensis* Liebmann) and white *mastate* (*Brosimum* sp.) are used on both slopes. The third kind is *Poulsenia armata* (Miq.) Standl; Moraceae. The method of preparation is similar.

The bark of the first two trees is cut and rolled at a right angle to the grain. The outer surface is removed by beating with a stick and then with a wooden club cut with horizontal grooves, one side of which is usually slightly curved. It is soaked in water, pulled to the shape and size desired, and left in the sun to dry. Stones are placed at the corners to [513] hold the shape. The cloth is used for blankets, hammocks (amongst the Cabécar only), to carry babies, as tumplines, belts, and loincloths, and as an article of trade with the [438] Borucas.

The third type, *testí* in Cabécar, is prepared by cutting around the tree with a machete the desired size for the cloth. Then a wedge-shaped wooden stick is used to peel it off the trunk. The piece is then doubled and the outer bark is cut in a thin sheet and rolled back, leaving the cambium or inner bark. This is soaked for several days and is afterwards beaten with a wooden stick to make it pliable and soft. It is used primarily for blankets.

[824] [415] In Talamanca and in Chirripó, the wild rubber tree (*Castilla* sp.) also furnishes a cloth for hunting pouches.

286 415 **Net Bags.** The Bribri have long been famous for the manufacture of net bags (*see* Trade), although the Cabécares are known to make them occasionally. They serve a variety of purposes besides being a depository for personal and household things. They are used for hunting and for carrying all manner of cargo, from plantains to babies. Most bags are made of *pita* or *cabuya* thread and have a long handle which also acts as a tumpline. The usual shape [224] is baglike, but those for blow-gun hunting are elongated and have small divisions or pockets. At times in Talamanca, casting nets are made [227] from the same material and in the same technique.